TL 2591

UNITED NATIONS

S

Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/16819
7 November 1984

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

NOTE VERBALE DATED 22 OCTOBER 1984 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF ANGOLA, CAPE VERDE, GUINEA-BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE AND SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Permanent Representatives of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cape Verde, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe present their compliments to the President of the Security Council and have the honour to transmit the following documents concerning the grave situation prevailing in the territory of East Timor, under Indonesian military occupation, and request that they be circulated as a document of the Security Council:

(a) A communiqué concerning the military situation in East Timor up to July 1984;

(b) A report on the food situation in the territory and some data on the atrocities committed by the authorities and forces of occupation;

(c) A list of prisoners who disappeared. This is only a partial list of people who are easily identifiable.

(Signed) Elisio FIGUEIREDO
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
the People's Republic of Angola

(Signed) Corentino DOS SANTOS
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
the Republic of Cape Verde

(Signed) Inacio SEMEDO, Jr.
Ambassador
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(Signed) Manuel DOS SANTOS
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(Signed) Joaquim R. BRANCO
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the Democratic Republic of
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Annex I

Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor

Communiqué

The offensive of Beni Mordani, which started in September last year, has, until now, produced results by the troops of occupation which are reflected in the frustration of the Indonesian soldiers and the incapacity of Jakarta to put an end to war through waging a war. The great but impotent effort of the generals of Jakarta, translated into this offensive directed at the extermination of Fretilin, involving attack planes Bronco and Tiger, ships, cannons, mortars, helicopters, bazookas and rockets and about 20 battalions, found an adequate response from the guerrillas through the constant and heavy losses of the troops of occupation and the capture of a large number of arms, munitions and Indonesian military equipment.

The volume of the actions carried out by the guerrillas proves well the capacity of the Falintil which on no occasion was intimidated by the repeated threats of extermination and by the dimensions of the offensive. The capture of Indonesian material assures plainly to Fretilin the continuation of the war for as long as Jakarta maintains its position of total disrespect for the resolutions of the United Nations. Fretilin did not turn passively to defence, as Beni Mordani had though it would; the guerrillas, aside from the daily combat which takes place during the military operations within our zones, have also started to attack, and Tutuala, Lospalos, Lore, Luro, Uato Korbau, Kelilai, Uato Lari, Vemasse, Laleia, Cribas, Natar Bora, Ainaro, Same, Alas, Soibada, Ossu, Laclubar and Turiskai have been targets of our attacks.

Two Broncos and two Tigers machine-gun and bomb daily the zones controlled by Fretilin, either as retaliation for our acts or in order to clear the land for the advance of their troops. Mortars and cannons are stationed in the villages and in the countryside (Lospalos, Luro, Uato Lari, Kelicai, Iliomar, Ossu, Vikeke, Laclubar, Same, Alas, Turiskai, Manatuto, Mehara Sagadate and Naharecka), and terrorize the frightened local population by night and by day. Another 5 battalions were brought in '741, 742, 743, Marinir 5 and one of RPKAD) to reinforce the 15,000 troops already there. However, the hospitals of Dili and Baukau are overcrowded with wounded Indonesian soldiers, and in Baukau it was necessary to have one more cemetery built, in Kaibada.

Incapable of achieving the immediate destruction of the guerrillas, Colonel Purwanto's* replacement, thought to be more resolute and aggressive, once again forced the mobilization of the population for the fighting that took place last January and February; this in spite of the protests made by the Catholic Church in Dili. During combat the population was hungry because it had no rations, while the Indonesian soldiers were supplied by helicopters; the situation was rife

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* Former Indonesian military commander in East Timor.

with problems for the population, which was "complaining" but was forced to continue to march. This fact impeded the continuation of the fighting, which had been planned to end by April with the total extermination of Fretilin. However, a new mobilization of the population from the ages of 14 to 60 is already being planned for the months of the dry season (August, September and October). From the end of June to mid-July the population of Vemasse, Laleia, Manatuto and Laclo was forced to fight in the north-central regions of the country, where about 30 members of the population died in Vaime on 5 July during confrontations with the guerrillas, because the forces of occupation force the population to advance while they themselves stay in the rear. Not satisfied with all this, the authorities of the occupation are recruiting pemudas (schoolchildren) and give them arms.

The declarations issued by Jakarta on "sporadic fighting" (in East Timor) are simply denied by their refusal to allow the entry of independent observers. The constant blockade and recent expulsion of ICRC have allowed the authorities of the occupation and their assassin forces to impose a new climate of terror and of crime in East Timor. The arbitrary imprisonments continue, and every person taken out of the prison at night or called out of his house at night disappears. We continue to appeal to the peace-loving and justice-loving world to pressure Jakarta not to make use of retaliation against the population when their forces suffer on the battlefields and to allow humanitarian organizations to enter East Timor, in order to assist the population. The marionette gubernur (governor), Mario Carrascalao, has stopped distributing money to the hungry people in Dili to stop them from "buying mango here and selling it there", and, already more resolute and aggressive, he has put an end to the audiences of his policy of "conquering the hearts", and he yells at those who still believe that he could give them money to buy food for their children: "When the Indonesians die, you can also die!".

The people of East Timor struggle and accept all the sacrifices that their process of liberation demands! The people of East Timor fight for the expulsion of the foreign domination, and the guerrillas of Fretilin are conscious and more determined in their role of assuring, through armed struggle, the defence of the inalienable right of the Mau Bere people to freely choose their own destiny.

FATHERLAND OR DEATH!
TO RESIST IS TO WIN!
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN THE VILLAGES AND MOUNTAINS OF EAST TIMOR!

East Timor, during the fighting of July 1984.

The commander-in-chief of the Falintil
Xanana

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Annex II

Democratic Republic of East Timor - Fretilin

Report

1. In the following we give a summary of the situation of the population, which is deplorable concerning the question of nutrition:

Zone of Tutuala: The five tribes of the village of Tutuala, aside from little mandioc vegetable gardens, have no corn because they did not plant it in the previous season. Some people, who used to have recourse to fishing, cannot go to the seashore because of the restrictions of movement. Mehora, Poros and Porlamano have finished the weeds produced in 1982 and have nothing left to eat. In these three places the population suffers lots of retaliation from the enemy.

Zone of Lospalos: Muapitine, Home, Ira LafenFuibro, Lusrai, Cepelata and Ira Hara (some of them are concentrated around Lospalos) are in the same conditions as Tutuala. The population is doing very badly because it cannot leave the villages and fetch coconuts on the hillsides next to the plain and has not been able to plant. The fields next to Louro, Soro and Sorulua have not been planted, and the population is also doing badly; but, even so, they still have the coconuts around the fields.

Zone of Lore: Maluro and Ili Lapa manage to supplement the little food they have with the coconuts.

Zone of Moro: in better condition, but the fields of Maina I and II, Cerelau and Baduro only serve to supply cumbili (vegetable) that grow on the edge of the fields as well as coconuts.

Zone of Iliomar: aside from the little corn and mandioc vegetable gardens, the survival of the population has been assured by the recourse to eating sagu (roots).

Zone of Luro: the zone of permanent hunger, because sweet potato used to be the basic food. This year people have not been able to plant, owing to the restrictions that were imposed, and the population has no potatoes to eat.

Zone of Laiasi: the last corn crop is being finished, but people survive with mandioc, which is starting to spoil because it is old.

Zone of Laga: the rice fields on the edge of Laga belong to the favoured ones, who own buffalos which were taken away from suspected supporters of Fretilin. In spite of the corn and mandioc vegetable gardens on the fields of the hillsides, the villages of Samalai, Saelari, Sagadate and Atebri (concentrated along the Laga-Baguia road) have survived on breadfruit, which is already out of season, and what they still had from the vegetable gardens is nearly finished because they were impeded from planting during the previous season.

Zone of Baguia: the population is doing very badly, and the sweet potato, the basic food, so far has only leaves, which are eaten by the population. More towards the centre of the village, the owners of land also have mandioc. The people of the tribes which formerly lived in the mountains and in Leguman have now been concentrated in the area surrounding the village and do not even have the recourse to cumbili, sagu or coconut, because these things do not exist in the area.

Zone of Kelikai: also is a zone of permanent hunger. The population has no corn, mandioc does not grow well because of the climate, and the production of sweet potato is weak. As in previous years, the population could have recourse to wild-growing leaves, weeds or coconuts, but the restriction of movement beyond Meku or out of the village forces the population to eat only papaya leaves and green papayas.

Zone of Uato Lari: here it is not allowed to plant on the northern part of the Vikeke-Uato-Lari road, and the new vegetable gardens on the southern part of the road have not had sufficient crops, owing to the restrictions which impeded access to the vegetable gardens. In many places (Uato-Lari, Ossu, Venilale, Seical, Rade Uma, Vemasse, Laleia) the planting of corn in badly prepared vegetable gardens was done out of season, and the little that they managed to plant dried up because the rainfalls stopped. The populations of the fields of Kapuas, Maluro Komo, Meabuti, Be Bui and Lugaca only have recourse now to cumbili, sagu and maek that grow near the fields. Because the population cannot move further, the situation will be much worse in the coming months of the dry season.

Zones of Ossu and Venilale: not as bad as Kelikai, even though a large part of the population is suffering from hunger because it was not allowed to plant in the previous season, but it still has recourse to mandioc.

Zone of Baukau: in the surrounding areas from Seical to Gari Uai and from Loilubo to Bukoli, the population strongly feels the restrictions of movement to their own vegetable gardens. The population has no corn left and is surviving on mandioc that is still in the vegetable gardens, but in the coming months the population will be doing much worse.

Zone of Vemasse: the production of the few rice fields on the coast was poor this year. The majority of the population that formerly lived in the interior is now concentrated around the village and is struggling continuously with the problem of land for production, and since the population did not plant in the previous season, people only have recourse to sagu.

Zone of Vikeke: on the fields of Bua Norak, Be Loi, Bikaoin and Luca, the only recourse people have is to crush sagu into meal by day and by night. In Klaterek Mutiu, where the population from Kraras that managed to survive has been concentrated, people are dying of hunger, because they do not even have knives to cut the sagu.

Zones of Lacluta, Barike, Soibada and F. Berliú: the areas for planting have become smaller, and there is no corn left. Only the mandioc of the production of 1982 is continuing to feed the people. Here also the (spoiled) mandioc is poisoning the population.

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Zone of Laleia: the problems of land and of hunger are also the permanent situation of Laleia. Even though the population managed to plant a little corn north of the road, when the ears of corn were still green the authorities of the occupation forced the population to cut the crop "for security reasons"; the little corn that was cut became spoiled, and the people only can go to the coast (always accompanied by the forces) to gather tamarind and some wild leaves. Some people who had recourse to fishing and to gathering salt cannot do it now owing to the restrictions. There are many weeds just 2 kilometres out of the village, but the population is even not allowed to have recourse to maek or saqu.

Zone of Laclubar: the sweet potato and kortas (basic food) cannot satisfy the hunger, and the population is using koto morek that grows on the hillsides of Uma Lima and Maubere. The population "does not know" corn.

Zone of Alas: the population is doing very badly and for many months has not been able to reach the vegetable gardens. The people were forced to let the little corn in the vegetable gardens become spoiled.

Zone of Manatuto: hunger is chronic, as it has been in the past, and the size of the rice fields is smaller than before, and these fields do not belong to the whole population. Although there are some little vegetable gardens, the people in general have always to eat saqu.

Zone of Same: nothing grows on the fields of Dare, Xipantiga, Rotuto, Seu Sate, Holaina or Gorotu, and the people are doing badly.

Everywhere, the majority of the population has no clothes.

2. Now we present some data on the atrocities committed by the authorities and forces of occupation:

(a) New atauros (prison islands) and new comarcas (prisons) outside of East Timor:

Already for six times, from October 1983 to last May, Garuda (Indonesian airline) has transported prisoners from Dili to Bali, Kupang and Flores. As they leave the prisons of Dili, until they enter the plane, the prisoners, two by two, are tied together by their thumbs. This situation has been seen by all the people who were at the airport; the family members of the prisoners who live in Dili were allowed to say good-bye to their husbands, fathers or sons. As it is impossible to give the name of all the prisoners, we only can say that among them were David Ximenes, ex-candidate for the position of an officer of the Portuguese army and imprisoned since June 1980; Antonio da Piedade, born in Uaibota-Ossu, ex-administrator of a village during colonial times.

(b) Inhumane acts in Mehara as practiced by the nangallas (special forces to combat subversion):

After an operation on the road between Mehara and Tutuala on 6 November 1983, during which the guerrillas destroyed a vehicle and captured 15 arms, and following

an action on the village of Tutuala on 20 November 1983, during which the nangallas stationed there suffered seven losses, the assassin occupier imprisoned more than 200 people from Mehara and Porlamano and corralled them in the two school buildings of Mehara. Among the prisoners were old people, men, women and children (all of them family members of armed villagers who had gone over to the armed resistance in August 1983). Aside from beatings and torture (the women were also subjected to electric shocks and to the burning with cigarettes on the breast and face), nobody was allowed to go further than 5 metres from the school building. As there are no latrines, during daytime, men as well as women "made the necessities" in the open, under the eyes of the nangallas, who mocked the women with immoral words and expressions, such as "what are you doing, 'mama'?". And at night, the prisoners were forced "to make the necessities" in front of everyone in little cans that all of them had. The food came from the house of each of them, but people were not always allowed to bring it. This way, the two school buildings became prisons, where the prisoners slept, ate and "made the necessities". Many of the prisoners have disappeared, and in our next letter we shall send the names.

(c) Another act of retaliation not less inhumane:

After the revolt of Kraras, the forces of occupation destroyed the village, completely massacring more than 200 people; among them were men, women, invalids and children. The sick, invalids and little infants were burnt inside their houses. The population left without clothes, without food, seeking refuge on Bibileu mountain. After intense bombing, the forces of occupation captured about 500 people and massacred them at the Be Tuku River. Through constant bombings, a prolonged encirclement of the mountain and "cleaning" operations, the surviving population was forced to surrender once again to the enemy. The aggressors took away from the population what it had left - big and small knives and spears. The whole population was sent to a place called Klaterek Mutiu and cannot cut saqu to eat or wood to build huts. If it were not for the people of Bikarin, who supported the survivors of Kraras (formerly of the tribe Bibileu), they would have been decimated by hunger. All day and all night, men as well as women are put on "guard duty", while a platoon of nangallas is stationed there in the centre of the field, warning that if Fretilin attacks, the people will be exterminated.

(d) Another act of retaliation against the population (cases of this sort are countless, and we only describe a few that are easily identifiable):

On 15, 16 and 17 March 1984, there were successive confrontations in Bou Meke, Kaibrek and Buburako with the (Indonesian) company Bat. 328, during which the guerrillas of Company A, III Unit inflicted many losses on the enemy. The same company Bat. 328, moving east beyond the mountain Ossoala, entered the vegetable gardens of the people of the village of Venilale and caught three members of the population (who were in the gardens) and machine-gunned them. These people were Manuel, 38 years old; Francisco Loi, 27 years old; Isac de Sousa, 29 years old; they were born in the places Fatu Lia, Builale and Uai Oli, all part of Venilale. Isac was a nephew of the commander of the hansips (local police) from Venilale, Joaquim de Sousa. This case occurred on 21 March 1984.

During the whole month of May and the first half of June, the new "hounds" of battalions 741, 742 and 743 persecuted the two companies of the II Unit of Falintil

that operated north of Matebian. The countless losses caused during the fighting in Kailoibere, Bu'u Bere, Ate Ua, Isi, Ailemo Boroloi and Ulu Su, with the capture of arms, could only be avenged on 25 June, when one company of battalion 741 passed through Venilale on its way to fight in the central regions. Near Venilale, on the left margin of the Assalaitula river, where some people of the village have rice fields, the aggressors caught two men, named Joao and Gaspar, from Uai Oli and machine-gunned them. Joao was a cousin of DPR (Indonesian regional parliament) member Aleixo Ximenes. Although angry, neither Aleixo Ximenes nor Joaquim de Sousa, who are privileged under the Indonesian occupation, could not and will not be able to do anything. We are certain that although they have cried over the deaths of their family members, they will not say one word to "delegations" that eventually will pass through East Timor.

In September of last year, after an attack on a position in Baha Sae, during which the guerrillas captured five arms, causing five deaths and eight wounded, the nangallas stationed there imprisoned 17 members of the population, took them to Vemasse and massacred them there.

During the operation of Loi Boro Uai, near Baukau, on 19 May 1984, the guerrillas captured two ammunition boxes which had been left behind by the Indonesians in their flight. After this event, the authorities of occupation imprisoned 23 people; 8 of them have disappeared after having been taken from prison at night. The family members, who used to bring them food, were informed that they "were studying in Jakarta"; the unhappy ones were illiterate! The same way, on 14 May 1984, in the operation of Kairabela, during which the guerrillas captured 10 arms, including "Galaxys", and killed 15 Indonesian soldiers; more than 30 members of the population were imprisoned, and in Baukau some of them disappeared.

These cases occur everywhere and constantly. We are trying to give information only on cases that are known by the whole population of the area in question. In our next report we shall provide information on more cases in other places.

Annex III

Democratic Republic of East Timor - Fretilin

List of prisoners and disappeared after the event of Vikeke, after the breakdown of the cease-fire (August 1983)

Remark. We mention only those people who are easily identifiable, as the majority that is not on this list has maubere (Timorese) names

(1) Teresa dos Anjos, over 40 years old, from the village of Kraras. She was imprisoned on 11 August 1984 by members of the Kodim of Vikeke and is now imprisoned in Vikeke. She was brutally beaten by the Kasi Satu.

(2) Soldiers of the company of Battalion 745, stationed in Vikeke, were sent to search the whole village of Vikeke and imprisoned, among others, the following people:

- Abilio, 31 years old, born in Vikeke (20.8.1983);
- Marcelino Amaral, 30 years old, from Karau Balu (21.8.83);
- Abilio Amaral, 26 years old, from Karau Balu (21.8.83);
- Domingos Salsinha, 33 years old, from Uma Kik (30.8.83);
- Mario Pinto, 30 years old, from Balara Uain (4.9.1983);
- Adelino, 26 years old, from Karau Balu (7.9.1983);
- Alarico, over 50 years old, from Karau Balu (8.9.1983);
- Guilhermino, over 30 years old, from Karau Balu (13.9.1983);
- Jacinto, 35 years old, from Balara Uain (13.9.1983);
- Duarte, 31 years old, from Balara Uain (17.9.1983);
- Hermenegildo, 25 years old, from Karau Balu (18.9.1983);
- Leonardo, 27 years old, from Karau Balu (23.9.1983).

All were brutally beaten with the butt of a gun and stomped during their imprisonment and tortured during their interrogation in the Kodim. Domingos Salsinha, Mario Pinto, Guilhermino, Jacinto, Duarte, Hermenegildo and Leonardo are thought to have disappeared. The others continue to be imprisoned.

(3) The functionaries of the Kodim also did not rest:

- Aida dos Anjos, 16 years old;
- Maria Odete, 16 years old;
- Mariana, 17 years old;
- Domingas, 20 years old;
- Cipriana, 19 years old;
- Siza, 18 years old;

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All of them, from the village of Vikeke, were taken to the Kodim, where they continue to be imprisoned.

(4) The nangallas stationed in Ossu sent the following persons to the Kodim of Vikeke:

- Feliciano de Jesus, 29 years old, continues to be in prison (2.10.1983);
- Paulino da Silva, 30 years old, disappeared (2.10.1983);
- Celestino da Costa, 38 years old, was brutally beaten with the butt of a gun and punched (2.10.1983);
- Elias Guterres, 38 years old, brutally beaten (2.10.1983);
- Francisco Xavier, 30 years old, tortured with electric shocks (4.10.83);
- Filomeno da Costa, 22 years old, disappeared (4.10.1983);
- Agostinho Sarmento, 20 years old, tortured in Vikeke, disappeared (4.10.1983);
- Renuqio da Silva, 26 years old, brutally beaten with the butt of a gun, punched and stomped, disappeared (4.10.1983);
- Domingos Sina, 27 years old, disappeared after his interrogation (4.10.1983);
- Domingos, about 40 years old, brutally beaten (4.10.1983);
- Acacio Guterres, 24 years old, disappeared (6.10.1983);
- Clementino da Silva, 29 years old;
- Feliciano do Anjos, 56 years old;
- Luis Soares, 39 years old;

  (The last three people were imprisoned by the local Koramil on the 5th of October 1983. They were beaten with the butt of a gun and stomped. They continue to be in prison in Vikeke.)

- Cipriano Freitas, 41 years old, was beaten until bloody, continues to be in prison (10.10.1983).

(5) More torture and beatings result necessarily in new imprisonments, and the platoon 745 in Vikeke does not rest:

On 13 October 1983, among others, the following people were imprisoned:

- Armando Pinto, 27 years old;
- Salvador Belo, 30 years old;

Both of them were brutally beaten in the Kodim and today are thought to have disappeared.

On 14 October 1983, among others, the following persons were imprisoned:

- Anastacio Soares, 23 years old;
- Raimundo Pereira, 27 years old, from Wai Nori and living in Vikeke, thought to have disappeared.

On 10 November 1983, Mariano Menezes, 49 years old, born in Uato Lon and living in Vikeke, was taken to the Kodim and savagely beaten. He continues to be in prison.

(6) As a result of the imprisonment of Mario Menezes, the local Koramil in Beaso, near Vikeke, in November, sent the following people to the Kodim:

- Afonso Monteiro, 20 years old;
- Manuel Soares, 27 years old;
- Jeremias da Costa, 30 years old;
- Miguel Nogueira, 29 years old;
- Antonio de Carvalho, 53 years old.

All of them were born in Lugaca (Mato Lari) and were living in Beaso. They were severely beaten, which resulted in the imprisonment of another 26 people. About 10 of them are thought to have disappeared, while the others continue to be in prison.

(7) Aside from these people, the following persons were imprisoned in September and sent to Dili:

- Francisco Ximenes, teacher of the school of the Catholic mission;
- Joao Bosco, in the colonial times he was the driver of the tourist office;
- Fernando Gonzaga, in the colonial times he was a school teacher.

Afonso da Costa Rangel and Domingos Pinto of the tribe Taibileu/Vikeke were in prison several times and since the beginning of the cease-fire were free in Dili. They were once again imprisoned in September 1983, and today it is thought that they were sent to the new comarcas (prisons) in Indonesia. The same applies for the three people mentioned before them.

(8) The male nurse, Augusto Gusmao, born in Vemasse, persecuted since 1980 and several times imprisoned, was beaten and tortured in September 1983. After one week he was freed and went back to work in the mission, or, better to say, in the school of Fatumaca. On 17 June 1984 he was called to the Kodim in Baukau, where he was beaten and freed on 19 June 1984. On 21 June, two days later, an armed section took him at night from his house. Until today we do not know the whereabouts of this man. Some members of Fretilin (who still survive the waves of imprisonments, disappearances and massacres) are in the same situation.

The method of terror used with literate people, who presumably could organize or orient clandestine organizations, (members of Fretilin or not) consists of

calling them, detaining them for several days for interrogation, freeing them, calling them again, threatening them, freeing them again, calling them again, beating them, freeing them, calling them again, interrogating them, freeing them and going on like this continuously.

Later on, we shall provide more information.

East Timor, resisting the waves of crime and the storm-winds of terror, in July of the ninth year of Armed Resistance.

Xanana

Jose Alexandre Gusmao
(Commander-in-Chief of Fretilin)